

A

REVIEW

OF THE

STATE

OF THE

BRITISH NATION.

Tuesday, July 29. 1712.

I As fully resolv'd to lay down this Paper at the End of *July*, when the New Tax upon Papers begins, as ever I did, or can resolve any Thing, and pleas'd myself with the Hopes, that after eight Years struggling with the Enemies of the Nation's Peace, to have enjoy'd some Peace myself, to have dropped insensibly out of the publick Broil, and have labour'd as much as possible to have been forgotten among you.

But it is impossible, neither the Nature of the Thing, nor the Nature of the People will permit it; I must not lay down: *As to the People*, unless I will give leave to the Railling Spirit to triumph over me, as slain in the Battle, and let that Slander which ceases not to insult me while living. (*in Print*, follow and pursue me into the Grave; I must be still at Hand to detect the Lyes, and oppose the Slanders which those who cannot otherwise answer me, are daily filling the Age with.

Nor will the Nature, of the Thing permit me to lay down; the Crisis is too Eminent, the Arguments on both Sides too nice, the Consequences too fatal, the Mischiefs approaching, too Threatening, and the Concern every honest Man has in the good of his Country too pressing, for any Man that has spoken at all, now to hold his Peace. He that will save his Country from Ruin, must do it in the Season of Deliverance; he that will prevent the Destruction of a Town, must cry Fire in Time, and he that will do any Service on both Sides, must now speak, or he may for ever after hold his Tongue.

In the Conclusion of this Volume, I promised to say something of myself, and tho' it may be Burthenome to the present Age, it may be useful to Posterity, and therefore the next Paper being the Preface to the whole Volume; I shall do it without any regard to the Mockings and Contempt of those, who profess themselves not only Enemies,

enemies to the Paper, but to the Man for the sake of it.

But as this is the concluding Paper of the Volume, I shall take the best part of it up, is giving you a short View of the present unhappy State of the Nation, as to the War, and what it is we are contending about.

We are now in the Eleventh Year of the War; It was declar'd by the Queen, *May 4. 1702.* The Reasons of the War are to be found in the Grand Alliance, made in *September 7. 1701.* the late King *William* being then on the Throne, and the Grand Affairs now contended for, are sum'd up in the *VIIIth* Article of that Alliance, in these Words; *An Equisable and Reasonable Satisfaction to the Emperor, for his Pretensions to the Spanish Monarchy.*

This, I affirm, is all on the Emperor's part, that, by the Grand Alliance, the Confederates were to fight for; Process of Time, and Progress in the War, has obtain'd to put a new Popular Construction on the Words, and to determine, that we were to make no Peace, till the whole *Spanish Monarchy* was put into the Hands of *Charles III.* who in Consequence of that Treaty, was declar'd King of *Spain*: As long as the late Emperor *Leopold*, or his Son *Foseph* liv'd, that Notion had been just — But Heaven, for our Sins, blinding so far the Nations, as that they saw not the only Breach where future Mischiefs might break in; they made no Provision for that Remarkable Incident, of both the Emperors dying without Issue, and the Imperial and Spanish Crowns devolving upon the same Person; in fullness of Time, that remote Danger became near, the Imperial Throne became Vacant, and our FOOLISH PEOPLE have given it to the King of *Spain*.

This has turn'd the Tables, has alter'd and destroy'd the very Foundation of the War, and this, as I said before, has turn'd all my Zeal for the War, into an earnest desire of Peace: The Grand Alliance never suppos'd an Emperor to be King of *Spain*, nor had not the Politicians of this Age been blinded by Party Fury, would they ever have come into such a Preposterous Project? For opposing this, I hear the Re-

proaches of those, who once knew better, and in this Case, I am so far from being Concern'd at their Reproaches, that, as my Lord *Rochester* said in another Case, *I count their Censure RAME.*

The Work I am upon now, is not to Argue upon the Head, but to shew you, that I wrote the same Thing I do now, and was of the same Opinion I am now in the Days of the late Ministry; and this you will say is an evident Proof, that I write it now, to oblige the present Ministry.

I thought it my Duty to warn them, even then, against the Exorbitant Greediness of the House of *AUSTRIA*, and this I did in plain Words, and that the barbarous unjust Treatment I receive from the present Generation, may more plainly appear, I here present you with a true Copy, verbatim, of part of a Review; Printed in the Time of the late Ministry, viz. Vol. 5. N^o 155. *March 24. 1709*, at the Time when the former Treaty of Peace was on Foot; sure our Gentlefolk will not tell me I wrote for the New Ministry then, mark the Words.

' We have seen publish'd a kind of an 'Exposition printed Abroad, concerning the Kingdoms of *Naples* and *Sicily*, and Arguments rais'd from the English Interest in Trade, to move us against conceding those Kingdoms to the Duke of *Anjou* — The same Paper has been publish'd in *Holland*, but as I am told, with differing Arguments relating to the *Dutch*; but it is evident to those who can see but a little Way into Things, That there is a certain Power in the World who will be against any Peace, but what may enlarge that Power to a Height beyond what is consistent with the Balance of *Europe*, for which the Confederates have been all this while Fighting — And from this, and some other Observations on the present Posture of Affairs, I lay down these Propositions, as the Preliminaries of my future Arguing upon the Subject of Peace.

- ' 1. It is as necessary to the Peace of Europe not to reduce *France* too low, as it is not to let *France* be too high.
- ' 2. There

2. * There are some Conquests made
 * by some Powers of *Europe* this War,
 * which it is as necessary for the Peace
 * of *Europe* should be restor'd, as those
 * Conquests *France* has made.

3. * There is a certain Potentate in the
 * Alliance, whose over-balancing
 * Greatness it is as absolutely necessa-
 * ry to prevent, as it is to reduce
 * that of *France*, which is already
 * grown too high.

* When I come to examine farther into
 * these Things, I shall not be so shy of ex-
 * plaining myself, as perhaps some People
 * think I shall be — We are told, that
 * it is not left to the Crown of *England* to
 * make a Peace that is disadvantageous to
 * the Nation; tho' some way this may be
 * true, yet I think, on the other hand, by
 * the same Rule, the Crown is not bound
 * to continue a War, when it may be *Ad-
 vantageously Concluded*, to satisfy the Ca-
 * price of every *Mounchbank Statesman*—And
 * the insisting on such Things as are of them-
 * selves not to be named, with the Expence,
 * Hazard and Blood, still to be spent in a
 * lingering War; is certainly a piece of
 * Policy that tends to the Damage, not to
 * the Advantage of *England*.

* Peace must, as I have often said, be
 * Safe and Honourable — I shall hereafter
 * a little enquire, what these Words con-
 * tain; in the mean time I must note, that
 * if, by the Peace, you take *Exorbitant*
 * Power from one, and give it to another, you
 * are far from making your Peace Safe —
 * The Safety of *Europe*, if I have any Fore-
 * sight, lies now in our Hands to secure,
 * and we may secure it — And this will
 * effectually be done thus. There are but
 * two Articles of Exorbitant Power in *Eu-
 rope*, one you may reduce, the other you
 * may divide, and so bring both to a Bal-
 * lance; and this is the only Way to se-
 * cure the Peace of *Europe*; this was done
 * effectually by King *William*, in the Trea-
 * ty of *Paris*, and I have the Honour to
 * say, that to my certain Knowledge, it
 * was with this very Prospect. This the
 * French King saw, and therefore together
 * with the View of Encreasing his own
 * Power, broke the Articles — You have

* spent forty Millions, and many a thou-
 * sand *English Men's Lives*, to bring him
 * to it again. And it is still my Opinion,
 * that every Inch you add to *Austrian*
 * Greatness, more than was given by that
 * Treaty, so many Steps you take, to pur-
 * chase your Posterity the Happiness of
 * spending as much Blood and Money to re-
 * duce *German Tyranny*, as it has cost us to
 * reduce *French Tyranny* — And upon
 * that Foundation I leave it.

* If any Man take Offence at this Intro-
 * duction, I demand, but so much Justice
 * and beg so much Favour, that he will ad-
 * journ his Censure till I have explain'd
 * myself, and finish'd the Observations on
 * this Head.

This I leave upon Record, for Posterity
 to judge between me and the furious Men
 of this Age: So long ago I foresaw the E-
 vil, so long ago I gave my Judgment;
 How then, ye Hypocrites, am I turn'd a-
 bout? But ye are Blinded and Intoxicated,
 and if Heaven would permit it, you would
 all blindly set up a Bloody, Butchering,
 Bigotted *Papish Race*, to Ruin the *Protestants*
Interest, upon pretence of Mortifying the
French — But your Folly is restrain'd,
 and Time will open your Eyes.

There is but one Thing, which is all
 that is before us, that I could wish were o-
 therwise, viz. That any other Head were
 set over the *Spanish Monarchy*, but a Branch
 of *Bourbon*, then had they had nothing to
 say — But this is not in my Power to al-
 ter; I never spoke a Word for it in my
 Life, time must try the Steps taken on that
 Head; but as to giving it to the Person of
 an Emperor, it cannot be done without
 Treason against God, and the Church of
 God, Treason against the *Protestant Interest*,
 Treason against the *English Interest*, and
 Treachery to the true Intent and Meaning
 of the Grand Alliance, and the King that
 made it, and this I'll say at the Place of Ex-
 ecution, if ever the contrary Party, from
 whom I ask no Favour, have Power to
 bring me thither.

Upon this Article, the whole Debate
 now turns; the Emperor insists upon the
 whole, and takes my Lord *Peterborough* by
 the Buttons, says one Author, and says, he
 will

will buy at all under that name a Peace with-
out it; may he not only hazard All, but lose
ALL, say I, rather than the Day should
come, that he should enjoy the whole Do-
minions of Spain and Austria together.

The only Misfortune to Europe, is, that
the Dutch, at least for the present, as they
fall in with that weak and precipitate Step,
of making him Emperor, so they fall in
with the Notion of giving him all —
And while Britain has stop'd her Hand in
the War, and declar'd she will go no far-
ther on that Foot, the Emperor and the
Dutch are carrying on the War without us.

The Success they have hitherto had, has
given them but a dark View of the part
Heaven will take in the Quarrel, and they
have seen the greatest General of the Age
bunk'd and defeated in a Surprising man-
ner, by a vanquish'd despis'd Enemy: I
am yet in hope their Eyes will be open'd;
I know we have a Party, that by Interest
and Inclination desire they may stand out,
that it may involve us in a Breach with

them; this is a Curst, Abominable Prin-
ciple, and no Man can have a greater Ab-
horrence of it than I have; however the
Partiality and Injustice of the Age will have
it, that I am for a War with them, which
I abhor, and condemn the Reproach of;
God forbid it should come that length; I
have said, and do say still, that if they re-
solve to carry on the War without us, it
WILL End in a War; but far be it from
me, and from the Meaning of any *Drois-
Sant*, to wish or desire it, and therefore I
pray heartily God may incline the Hearts
of the States-General, to alter their Mea-
sures, and put an End to this War by such
Methods, as may most conduce to the Glory of
God, the Safety of the Protestant Interest,
and the preserving a good Understanding be-
tween Us and them — Other than
this I never did say, and never shall say; let
the Man that will not say Amen to such a
Prayer, stand forth and shew himself; and
my Life for yours, he is a Mad Man or a Fa-
rabist.

The END of the VIIIth VOLUME.

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